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ART. XV.—*Outlines of a Grammar of the Malagasy Language.* By H. N. VAN DER TUUK.

[Read May 1st, 1865].

INTRODUCTION.

I. The Malagasy belongs unquestionably to the stock of languages which have been denominated *Malayo-Polynesian*, and more particularly to the great Western Branch, which comprehends the languages of the link-haired races of the Indian Archipelago and the Philippines, and which we shall call *Malayan* (from the most predominating language in that part of the globe), to distinguish it from the Eastern Branch, which may be called *Maorian* (from the Maori of New Zealand), the geographical term *Polynesian* having the disadvantage of not excluding the languages of the crisp-haired races. The Malagasy bears the greatest analogy to the Toba dialect of the Batak in pronunciation (III), and many salient points¹ in its grammatical structure may be pointed out (IV) to prove its affinity to Javanese, Batak, Malay, Dayak,² and other Malayan tongues. The words, common to many of these, have not been derived from the languages of the two most civilized and formerly enterprising nations of the Indian Archipelago (the Malays and Javanese), as the following small list of words, not existing either in Javanese or Malay, and taken at random, will suffice to prove :³—

1. Bee, *uwáni* (Batak), *báni* (Mangkasar), *awáni* (Bugis), *fáni* (Timor and Rotti), *áni* (Bima).
2. Black, *wúring* (Harafura of Menado), *búring* (Dayak, charcoal)
3. Forest-leech, *limátok* or *limátèk* (Batak), *limátik* (Tagal).
4. Satiated, *bósur* or *bésur* (Batak), *wésu* (Menado Harafura and Sangar).
5. Ghost, *nítu* (Batak and Timor), *anító* (Tagal and Bisaya), *lító* (Favorlang on Formosa), *(si-)nítu* (Mantáwey).

¹ Against Crawford's Dissertation, p. 4.

² Of which only the *Ngaju* is sufficiently known.

³ Against Crawford, l. l. p. 7, below.

6. Bananas, *óntsi*¹ (Malagasy), *úncim* (Batak, wild bananas), *únti* (Mangkasar), *punti* (Sumbawa and Sangar). The cultivated banana is called *gáol* in Toba, on account of the vibration of the *l*, properly the same as *galo*, as in the language of Bina, and *gáluk* in the Daíri dialect of the Batak.
7. To steal, *tákko* or *tangko* (Batak), *tákow* (Dayak).
8. Rat, *roaláro* or *valávo*² (Malagasy), *bláwov* (Dayak), *baláwo* (Mangkasar).
9. Salt, *sira* (Malagasy and Batak), *siya* (Sasak, on the island of Lombok, Sangar, and Bima).
10. Mouth, *baba* or *babah* (Batak), *bawa* (Nias), *vava* (Malagasy).
11. Foot, *néhe* (Daíri), *ne* (Sumbawa).
12. Foot, *gáe* (Nias), *káe* (Daíri, thigh), *háe* (Toba, the lower part of a land towards the sea, *háe-háe*, thigh).
13. Nine, *siwah* or *siya* (Batak), *síry* (Malagasy), *hiwa*, *iwa*, etc (Maorian).

Observation.—Many words besides, which might be considered Javanese or Malay, have more complete forms in the other Malayan languages; which puts it beyond all doubt that they have not passed through those channels. A striking example is the word for earthquake, which in Javanese is *lindu* (in the Malay of Batavia *linu*, and in the Balinese *linuh*), whereas Sangar has yet *lindur*, Tagal *lindol*, Bisaya *lindog*, and Daíri *rénur*.³ Other words have the changed form of another language than Javanese: *e.g.*, *sófiñä* (ear)=*súping* (Batak), *kúping* (Javanese).

II. The words which appear to Crawford “most fit to test the unity of languages are those indispensable to their structure; which constitute, as it were, their framework, and without which they cannot be spoken or written: as, for instance, the prepositions representing the cases of more complex languages, and the auxiliaries to express tenses and moods.” Not finding similarity in them, he is led to suppose that the Malayan languages are no sister tongues, but distinct languages. Here Crawford has overlooked the fact that such words in kindred languages *seem* very often to be different to

¹ *o* as *u* in German and Italian.

² *v* as *w* in Dutch.

³ *nd* often = *n* as medial (compare the last word in III. 1).

a person who neglects the grammar, and satisfies himself with looking over vocabularies. Would not a man, not well acquainted with the Teutonic languages, infer from *but*, *maar*, *sondern*, and *to*, *naar*, *zu*, etc., that English, Dutch, and German are no kindred languages? Such words *seem* different, because they are very liable to different applications; thus, for instance, the preposition *ka* in Malay (*to* a place) does not exist as a preposition either in Batak or Malagasy, but only as a prefix; v.g. *ha-darat* (Batak), *to step to the wall* of a bathing place, *to go on shore*, said of a person bathing, *ha-trátŕa* (Malagasy), *up to the breast* (*ha=ka*, see III. 1). We need not examine all these words to come to the result that they are originally the same, and only differently applied, some of them being still used in the same way; thus, for instance, the preposition *at*, *in*, is in Malay and Batak (Toba and Mandailing) *di*, in Mangkasar and Bugis *ri*, in Daíri Batak *i* (in Javanese closed with a nasal *ing*); *of* is in Tagal, Bisaya, Malagasy, and Batak still *ni*; *to* is in Toba, Mandailing, and Favorlang *tu* (Dayak *intu*); *si* is in Daíri the relative pronoun, and takes sometimes a closing nasal before the following word (*simpěra*: what is dry), whereas in Javanese it is *sing*; *si* is both in Mangkasar and Daíri the particle of unity (*sikurang*, one moment, etc.).

III. Striking peculiarities of the Toba and Malagasy in pronunciation are:—

1. An *h*, as initial or medial, where another Malayan language has *k*; v.g. *hólatră*¹ (Malagasy) fungus=*kúlat* (Malay); *hála* (Malagasy and Toba) scorpion=*kála* (Malay from the Sanskrit); *házo* (Malagasy) tree, wood=*háyu* (sub-Toba and Mandailing), *háu* (Toba), *káyu* (Malay, Javanese, Daíri, etc.); *íáhotră* (Malagasy) dread=*táhut* (Toba *ma-tahut*, to be afraid), *tákut* (Malay); *hávitŕa* (Malagasy) a pointed iron, a spit=*káwit* (Bisaya) a crook, a hook, *káit* (Malay), *káut* (Daíri), *háit* (Toba and Mandailing); *handriñă*² (Malagasy) forehead=*kăning* (Malay, in Menangkabow it means eyebrow).

¹ The vowel of the final syllables *tra*, *na*, and *ka*, is but slightly sounded, and in some dialects of the Malagasy dumb.

² *n* as *ng* in *singer*, *ng* being pronounced as *ng* in *longer* (in Malay, etc., words represented by *ngg*); see also I. Observation, in note 3.

2. A *k* as medial in Malagasy = *kk* in Toba, where Malay, Javanese, or any other kindred language has *ngk*; v.g. *tóko* (Malagasy) trivet = *túngku* (Menangkabow); *vakúanā* (Malagasy) a screw pine, *pandanus* = *bakkuwang* (Toba pronunciation of the Daíri *běngkúwang*), *bangkúwang* (Menangkabow), *māngkúwang* (Malay).

3. A final *k* in Malagasy and Toba becomes *h* before the vowel of a suffix; v.g. *ulóhon* (Toba) eaten by the worm, from *úlok* and *on*; *iráhinā* (Malagasy) being sent as a messenger, from *irakā* and *inā*.

4. A final *n* in Malagasy causes an initial *h* to be changed into *k*, and sometimes into *tr*; v.g. *olon-kafa* or *olon-trafa* (stranger), from *ólonā* (man), and *hafa* (strange). In the same way we find in Toba *tiak-kúta* (from the fortified village), from *tian* (from) and *huta* (the Sanskrit *kuṭa*, see 1), and *tittittu* (my ring) from *tittin* (ring), and *hu* (suffix, mine). In the Mandailing an initial *h* is changed always into a *k* by a preceding final consonant; v.g. *tingon kuta* (= *tiak-kúta*) from *tingon* = *tian*, and *huta* (in South Mandailing pronounced *uta*).

5. In Malagasy *ts* is put instead of initial *s* by the influence of a final consonant; v.g. *lúlanā sírotrā* becomes *lalantsírotrā*. In Toba we have *tiatsaba* (from the rice field) out of *tian* + *saba* (rice field). In the South Mandailing and Daíri an *s* is pronounced nearly as *ch* in English (child) after a final *n*; v.g. *ránchang* (orthography *ransang*).

Observation.—Although every Malagasy word terminates with a vowel, a great many words derived by the aid of a suffix, as, for instance, *inā* and *anā* (corresponding respectively with the Toba suffixes *on*¹ and *an*), show an inserted consonant (*r*, *z*, or *s*), which is sometimes only to be explained by comparison with a language, wherein words terminating with a consonant are frequent. Thus, for instance, the Malagasy root *nify* (*ma-nify*, thin) is precisely the same word as the Malay *nipis*, as is evident from the derived *hanifisinā* (what is made thin). The Malagasy, like the Toba, not having the semi-vowel *y*, represents it very often by *z* (see

¹ Kawi and Javanese *ən*, Tagal *in*.

hazo in 1, and § 1 *a*). From this we see words wherein an inserted *z* corresponds with a *y* in Malay; v.g. *salózanä* (a gridiron), from *sály* (roasted). Now *saly* in Malay is *sály* (*mañdley*, to cure or dry by smoke or the heat of fire), and this *sály*, with the suffix *an*, becomes *salóyan* (which would signify where the curing takes place). Compare the Observation in VI.

IV. The salient points in grammatical structure which the Malagasy has in common with the other Malayan languages, are:—

1. The use of the prefix *mi*, mostly to form intransitive verbs (*mi-ála*, to go out), and occasionally to form transitive verbs (*mi-vidy*, to buy). The same obtains in Batak, with the prefix *mar* (Dairi *mër*); v.g. *marhóda* (Dairi *mërkúda*) to be on horseback, *margadis* (Toba) to sell=*mërdeya* (Dairi). The prefix *mi* (Batak *mar* or *mër*) is in Tagal and Bisaya *mag*, in Malay *bär*, in Dayak *bara*, in Iloco *ag*, in Mangkasar *aq*,¹ (*q* not fully sounded), in Kawi *ma*, and in Javanese *a* (see below, p. 443, I).

2. The prefix *ma* closed with a nasal forms mostly transitive verbs, as in Malay, Batak, Kawi, etc. The nasal, in some cases, to be stated below, causes the initial consonant of the root to disappear; v.g. *manóraträ* (to write)=*mañurat* (Malay), *manúrat* (Toba), from *sóraträ* (Malay and Batak *súrat*).

3. The substantives with an active sense are derived from the verbs by the change of the initial *m* into its sharp mute (*p* in Batak, Kawi, etc., and *f* in Malagasy); v.g. *pambuwat* (Batak), 1, the taking of anything in a certain way; 2, taker, who takes something; from *mambuwat* (to take); *fañala* (Malagasy)=*pambuwat*, (1) *mpañala*=*pambuwat*, (2) from *mañala*=*mambuwat*.

4. The passive is made in Malagasy as in the other Malayan languages, by the omission of the nasal; the initial consonant of the root, if lost by its influence (2) re-appearing; as, for instance, the passive verbal noun of

¹ See *Opmerkingen naar aanleiding van eene taalkundige bijdrage van den Hoogleraar Roorda*, p. 35.

manápakā (to break) is *tapáhinā* (III. 3). In the other languages the same takes place; v.g. *timbángon* (passive verbal noun), from *manimbang* (to weigh), from *timbang*.

5. A peculiarity of the Malagasy worth noticing is the use of a preposition before a substantive, not with the sense of an adverb, as might be supposed, and is really also the case (*andañitrā* in heaven), but very often to designate the proper name of a place as a real substantive; as, for instance, we have Ankova (the country of the Hova tribe) although it is composed of *anỹ* (at, in, etc.) and *Hova* (name of a now predominating lank-haired tribe of the island), and should signify in the Hova, or at Hova. The same is to be seen in Javanese, v.g. *ngayódya*, out of *ing Ayódya* (lit. at Ayodya), the ancient name of the Indian Oude; the Sanskrit *Langkā* (Ceylon) is mostly in Javanese *ngalěngká* (instead of *ing-lěngka* (on Ceylon). In Batak a few remnants of this are to be traced; v.g. *júma* (Daíri, a dry field for cultivation), although it is melted down from *dì-úma* (in the field); *haúma* (Toba) means the same, although it is visibly composed of *ha* (see II.), and *uma* (field for cultivation, either dry or watered), and should signify, to the field.¹

6. In Malagasy *faha* is a prefix, which also forms ordinals from cardinals; v.g. *fahatelo*, the third. In Toba we find *paha* as a prefix for the names of the Batak months; v.g. *si-pahatolu*, the third month (*si* being a prefix for substantives that are used for proper names).

V. The Malagasy has the same idiosyncrasy as its kindred languages:—

1. Tear is expressed by water of the eyes (*ráno-múso*), as in Malay (*áyar máta*), and Sundanese (*chi-máta*), etc.

2. Sun is eye of the day (*máso-ándro*) as in Malay (*mata-hári*) and other languages.

3. To be congealed is expressed by to sleep (*mándry*), as in Batak (*módom*).

4. Prince implies, what is to be waited upon (*andrianā*, root *ándry*), just as in Javanese, where *pangéran* (Kawi *pangheran*) is derived from *mangher* (to wait upon).

¹ For other examples see Tobasche Spraakkunst, p. 65a.

5. Backbone is tree of the back (*hazondamósina*, i.e. *hazo* + *n* + *lamósina*),¹ just as in Toba (*háu-tanggurung*; *háu*, see III. 1).

6. Vowels are children of writing (*zana-tsóraträ*). In Batak the same idea, *anak ni surat* meaning the signs, which are added to the characters, which are mostly consonants, and have the inherent *a* (*ha, ga, ta*, etc.), to express either other vowels (as *i, e, o*, etc.) or the sign of a final *n, h*, etc. In the same way *reni-landy* (mother of silk) is silkworm, as in Malay *indung sutära* is cocoon; *reni-tantely* (mother of honey) is bee (in Malay *indung madu* means a honeycomb). In Malay, when bow is opposed to arrow, it is called *ibu panah* (mother of the bow), arrow being expressed by *anak panah* (child of the bow); the same in Malagasy, *renin-antsaky* (mother of the bow, bow), and *zanak' antsaky* (child of the bow, arrow).

7. Leg is expressed by a composition with *vóa* (fruit), viz., *vóa-vitsi*; as in Batak, calf of the leg (*buwah bitis*).

8. Calf of the leg is in Malagasy belly of the leg (*kibon-dránjo*, i.e. *kibo* belly, *n*, and *ránjo*¹ leg) just as in Malay (*pärut kaki*).

9. Ten thousand is expressed by *alinä* (night), as in Batak, millions, or any very great number, by *gölup* (dark).

10. *Oli-panjéhy*, name of a kind of worm like a caterpillar, the spanning worm (*ólitra* worm, and *fanjéhy*² spanning, from *zéhy* a span), which is the Batak *jóngkal jóngkal*, what looks like a span, from *jóngkal* a span, the insect creeping with a bent back and having the appearance of a spanning hand.

VI. To detect similarity of words in kindred languages the phonetic changes are to be fixed by rules, a mere comparison by homophonous words being dangerous, and often leading the scholar astray; as has happened to Mr. Crawfurd, who just as Mr. T. Roorda, in his edition of Gericke's Javanese Dictionary, has been deceived by the sound.³ So, for instance, Mr. Crawfurd compares *volombava* (moustaches) with Malay *buluh bawak*,⁴ which has to signify, according to him, hair below,

¹ See § 15.

² See § 11.

³ See the fourth part of the Bataksch Leesboek, p. 111.

⁴ I. l. p. 156; *buluh* is bamboo, and *bulu* hair.

but is an unheard of expression. The Malagasy word, however, is *rulu* (hair) + *n* (instead of *ni*, of) + *rava*¹ (see I. 10), and is accordingly the Nias *bumbawa* (*bu*, hair + *m*, joint of words + *bawa*; see I. 10). He further compares *sivy* (I. 13) with the Javanese *sánga* (nine), which has nothing to do with it. I subjoin here a few rules, by which to detect identity of seemingly different words.

1. *Tr* in Malagasy, save in the final syllable (III. 1, in the note), is *d* in Malay and other sister tongues; v.g. *trúzunā* (a whale) = *duyung* (*halicore duyung*, a kind of sea cow); *trátra* (breast) = *dáda*; *traño* (house) = *dángow* (field house, shed in the field); *trósa* (debt) = *dosa* (sin in Malay, from the Sanskrit), guilt to be redeemed by money in Batak, etc.

2. *Ndr* is *nd* in Malay, etc., *nr* in Mangkasar or Bugis; v.g. *tándrokā* (horn) = *tánduk* (Malay); *ríndrinā* (wall of a house) = *dinding* (Malay), *rínring* (Mangkasar); *ándro* (day) = *indow* (Dayak); *mándro* (to bathe) = *mandi* (Malay, see 3), *mánduy* (Dayak); *trándrakā* (hedgehog) = *lándak* (Malay), etc.

3. A final *o* (*u*) represents very often a final *i* in a sister tongue; which is to be explained from a final diphthong *uy*, still existing in some languages; v.g. *áfiu* (fire) = *api* (Malay), *ápuu* (Kawi and Madurese); *líno* (swimming) = *língi* (Javanese), *lánguy* (Kawi), *tánguy* (Dayak, see below, p. 28); *mándro* (see 2) = *mándi* and *mánduy*, etc.

4. Where a *d* in Javanese and Batak is represented by *j* in Malay and Balinese, the Malagasy has *r*; v.g. *óranā* (rain) = *ulan* (Javanese and Batak), *hujan* (Malay and Balinese); *ráhanā* (to cook) = *dáhan* (Toba), *dakan* (Dairi), *jákan* (Balinese). But when the word has already an *l*, the *r* is assimilated, perhaps because the Malagasy disliked formerly the company of *l* and *r* in one word, just as the Batak does now;² v.g. *lúlanā* (road, path) = *dalan* (Javanese and Batak), *jalan* (Malay and Balinese); *lela* (tongue) = *dila* (Batak); *lélakā* (to lick, to lap) = *dilat* (Javanese and Batak), *jilat* (Malay).

Observation.—The final *k* of *lélakā* is changed into *f* before

¹ See below, § 15.

² See Tobasche *Spraakkunst*, § 24.

the suffix *inā*: *lelāfinā* (what is licked or lapped); from which it appears that it is the same word as the Dayak *jelap*.

5. *Di* in the Hova dialect is in the other Malagasy dialects, as in Batak, Malay, etc., *li*; *hādi* (to dig) = *hāli* (Toba), *kāli* (Menangkabow), *gāli* (Malay); *dinta* (leech) = *linta* (Toba and Mandailing), *lintah* (Malay, etc.); *sōdinā* (fife, flute) = *sūling* (Malay), etc.¹

VII. Sanskrit words there are in Malagasy (see VI. 1 and III. 1), but they have undergone the changes of native words, from which we may safely infer that the Malagasy branched off from the languages of the Indian Archipelago after the influence of the civilization of continental India had taken place. The Arabic words have passed into Malagasy directly, v.g. *adimixanā* (the tenth month, Arabic الميزان),² *talata* (Tuesday) is the Arabic ثلثا, pronounced in Malay and Javanese *salasa*.

VIII. A deeper plunge into the grammar of the language is necessary to convince the reader that the conquering lank-haired tribes came from the west coast of Sumatra after having mixed with a tribe resembling the Nias people, of whose language we know almost nothing, because the Dutch Government takes no interest whatever in scientific linguistic pursuits, leaving it to the Dutch Bible Society to prepare the knowledge of the Malayan languages.

IX. The island of Madagascar may be said to possess one language. Varieties of dialect exist, of course, but are not so numerous that people residing in different parts cannot understand each other, some practice enabling them to sustain a conversation. The principal varieties consist more of a different pronunciation, as will be stated hereafter (§ 17), than of an entire change in the words themselves, or in the structure of the sentences. The Malagasy chiefs like to use in their legislative discussions an ornamental language, consisting of rather high sounding words, that paraphrase the idea, and are easily understood by the context. The Sakalava say, for

¹ Other rules of the transmutation of sound will be found in the course of the grammar.

² In Malay and Javanese adopted without the *l* of the article (see also VI. 5), and a different meaning.

instance, *ny mahaléña* (what is moist) instead of *óranä* (rain), *ny mahétsakä* (quencher of thirst) instead of *ráno* (water), *famónty* (lenitive, emollient) instead of *sólíka* (Hova: *sólikya*) oil, etc. Such periphrastic words are also used to speak without offence, or out of delicacy; so the Sakalava say instead of *amboa* (dog), *fandróakä* (the driver away), because this animal is considered dirty with them as with the Batak (even those that are not converted to Islām), who call a dog in conversation *pangáiyak* (pursuer) or a shame giver (*pananggái*),¹ because the words for dog (*ásu*, *biyang*, and *ánjing*) are frequently used as terms of abuse. Instead of *vehiváhy* (woman) the Sakalava commonly use *ampisáfy*, who possesses a *sáfy* (which signifies: the hole wherein a hammer is hafted or helved, and figuratively, the *pudendum muliebre*); which reminds me of the Batak *bujing*, which in some parts of the country means *pudendum muliebre*, in others a virgin (commonly repeated *bujing-bujing*). The Betsimisarakä say instead of *maso-ándro* (sun) *fanjáva-be* (great illuminator, lighter). A word is offensive or otherwise according to the different parts of the country; so, for instance, *ampela* (girl) is almost an abusive term (strumpet) in the north.

I. PHONETIC SYSTEM.

Of the Letters.

§ 1. The alphabet (*abidy*), introduced by missionaries, consists of twenty letters, and is recited *a, ba, da, e, fa, ga, ha, i, ja, ka, la, ma, na, o, pa, ra, sa, ta, va, y, za*.

a. According to French authorities,² the Malagasy was written formerly with Arabic letters, the power of which however was changed, the Malagasy *z*, for instance, being represented by the Arabic *ya* (Intr. p. 422 below). It would be very useful to consult Malagasy compositions in the Arabic character,³

¹ In the Batak Dictionary this word is by mistake put under *tangga* I. and should be put under II.: to give shame in Batak is the term for scolding, abuse (see *ila* in the Batak Dictionary).

² See Flacourt, *Histoire de la grande île Madagascar*, p. 195.

³ Flacourt, l. l. p. 188, gives a list of thirteen astrological books, of which the titles are evidently Arabic; and p. 177 he gives the title of an Arabic-Malagasy Dictionary, and twenty-seven titles of books on medicine.

in order to correct some blunders that have evidently been committed by the European ear.

Observation.—Instead of *abidy* the alphabet should have been called *abada*, but the English missionaries forgot that they had given most of the vowels the power they have in French.

The Vowels.

§ 2. The *a* is sounded as in French. The *e* is the French *e fermé* (as *a* in slate). The *o* is sounded as *ou* in French, or *oo* in book, whereas the French *o ouvert*, as in *apôtre* (nearly as *aw* in law) is written *ô*. The *i* is sounded as in French, and when occurring as the final of a word is written *y*.

The Diphthongs.

§ 3. The only diphthongs are *ai* (as final written *ay*, § 2), which is also written *ei* (as final *ey*), and *ao*. The *ai* or *ei* is sounded as *ey* in they, and the *ao* as *ow* in row.

a. The *ai* is often contracted into *e*, principally when losing the accent by the influence of a suffix; v.g. *kekérinā* (*kaikitrā* + suffix *inā*), *béngy* = *baingy*, *béko* = *baiko* (Hova, *baikio*). In an accented syllable it sometimes loses either its first (*a*) or its last element (*i*), v.g. *boraiky* = *boriky*, *bingio* = *baingio*, *saiky* = *saiky*. If it is repeated, the first one is reduced into a mere vowel; v.g. *irai-iray* (some) from *iray* (one) is sounded *iréray*, whereas *iray-ráy* signifies of the same father, from *iray* and *ráy* (father). The pronouns *izay* and *izao* are commonly sounded *izè* (*è* as the French *e ouvert* or nearly as *ea* in head), and *izó* (§ 2).

b. The vowel belonging to a prefix or suffix should never be pronounced as a diphthong with the following or preceding vowel of a word; *maitso* is *ma-itso* (*ma* prefix), *maózatrá* is *ma-ózatrá*, *fakdinā* (*fáka* + suffix *inā*), etc.

Observation.—Johns' Malagasy English Dictionary, Griffith's Grammar, and that of the French Jesuits¹ speak of a great many diphthongs evidently by mistake.² Griffith calls *ai* in *maina*

¹ Ile Bourbon, 1855.

² As, for instance, *ia* and *io*, which are syllables commencing with consonantal *y* (*ya* and *yo*, see § 16).

and *taitra* a diphthong, but the French Jesuits accent *maina* (§ 5 *a*) and *táitřä*. It is evident that the French grammarians mean by diphthong two vowels following each other, and forming two separate syllables, as may be seen from the following passage in their grammar (p. 15): "If the accent of the root is on a diphthong, as *táo*, *váo*, *hóaträ*, *záitřä*, *śióträ*, it passes then (when a suffix is added) from the first vowel to the second without leaving the syllable; v.g. *zairinä* for *záitřä* and *inä*" (§ 10, 11). I think both the French and English grammarians have fallen into the mistake of the Dutch in their Malay grammars, where two consecutive vowels (in separate syllables) are stated to form a diphthong.¹ The two diphthongs mentioned above are peculiar to the Hova dialect, the provincial having instead of them *ê* and *ó*. Perhaps these diphthongs have originated in a former orthography according to the Arabic system, wherein *e* and *o* are represented by an *a* followed by a final *y* and *w* (compare *Observation*, § 4).

The Consonants.

§ 4. The *j* is sounded as *dz* in *adze*. The *g* is always hard (as in *give*), and the *h* aspirated (as in *hunt*). The *v* is sounded as *w* in Dutch and German.

a. The Hova dialect, which has become the literary language, has but two nasals, viz., the dental (*n*) and the labial (*m*), while the guttural nasal (*ng*, as in *singer*) is not represented by a separate character, and only occurs there as a final before the guttural consonants *k* and *g*. The combination *ng* should therefore be sounded as *ng* in *longer*. In the provincial dialects, however, the guttural nasal (the *ŋ* of the Malay) is used also as a medial, and is represented by the French Jesuits by *n* with the grave accent;² v.g. *añáranā* (name = Kawi and Sunda *ngáran*). The Dutch, in their transliteration of the Malayan words, represent it by *ng*, whereas *ng*, as in *longer*, is written by them *ngg*. Even the French weak guttural nasal

¹ See, for instance, the third edition of de Hollander's *Handleiding bij de beoefening der Maleische Taal en Letterkunde*, p. 31, where *dáun* is stated to be a monosyllable. The pronunciation *dáun* belongs to the lingo of European Malay.

² For want of the proper type, we express this guttural nasal by *n*.

sound, as in son, sein, is unutterable to the Hova: *du vin* has become *divay* (wine), *gant* is *ga* (glove), etc. The word for soap (*savony*) is not taken from the French, but is Arabic (صابون). The *ñ* gives the advantage of distinguishing words that are homophonous in the Hova; v.g. *óranã* (crayfish) = *urang* (Javanese), but *óranã* (rain) = *údan* (Javanese and Batak).

b. In the provincial dialects too there is a palatal nasal (the *ñ* of the French Jesuits) to be sounded as *gn* in French (*règne*) or nearly as *ni* in onion. It is the *ع* of the Malay.

Observation.—That the literary language does not express these two nasals is perhaps owing to the Arabic character,¹ which has no separate letters for *ñ* and *ñ*, nasals which are unutterable to the Arabs as initials, medials, or finals of a word (the proper name *Palémbang*, on the east coast of Sumatra, is sounded by the Arabs *falimban*).

Of Dumb Sounds.

§ 5. The vowel of the final syllables *ka* (sometimes *kia*, § 16), *tra* and *na* is but very slightly sounded, or, according to the dialects, left out altogether; v.g. *rávinã* (leaf = Malay *dáun*, Kawi *ron* instead of *ráun*), *ólitrã* (worm = Malay *ulat*, Javanese *úlër*), *kóhaka* (cough, compare Batak *hóhak*, expectorated spittle). These syllables will henceforth be called dumb syllables.

a. If the dumb syllables follow immediately the accented syllable, their vowel is sounded as an echo of that of the preceding syllable; v.g. *rítrã* is nearly *rítri*, *maina* is almost *maini*.

b. Every final syllable, if immediately following the accented one, has an almost imperceptible sound, which may be changed into any other vowel (compare § 12, 14 a), and very often is but an echo of that of the preceding syllable; v.g. *tóro* (provincial, as in Javanese) = *tóry* (*ma-tory*, to sleep), *vilány* (cooking vessel) is almost *vilánã* (= Malay *bálंगा*).

c. The *a* of *ka* is often clearly sounded when followed by the syllable *ha* of a following word; v.g. *manápaka házo*.

d. The *y* is nearly dumb—

¹ Compare Observation, § 3.

1. in the pronoun *ny* (of him, of her, its) ; v.g. *ny áda-ny* (his father) is sounded nearly *ny ádan* ;

2. in the final syllable *ny*, when taking the place of *na* (§ 8) ; v.g. *ny ráviny ny házo* (the leaf of the tree) is sounded nearly as *ny rávin ny házo*.

The Accent.

§ 6. The accent is on the penultimate, save when the word having more than two syllables, although not derived, terminates with a dumb syllable (§ 5), in which case it is always on the ante-penultimate ; v.g. *vilíny* (§ 5*b*), *faláfa* (the mid rib of the banana leaf ; compare Malay *palápak*), *hólatrá* (mushroom, Malay *kúlat*), *rávinä* (§ 5), *lúlanä* (road, path, Javanese and Batak *dúlan*), *lalána* (law), *tánaná* (hand, Ilova *tananá*, § 4*a* ; Malay *tárgan*), *tanána* (village), *kóhakä* (§ 5). The vowel of the syllable immediately following the accented one must never be sounded so as to become an *é* (as in English *bettër*, Dutch *betër*), and § 5*b* must be attended to. The accent is not influenced by a prefix ; v.g. *habé* (prefix *ha*, root *be*).

§ 7. The accent passes on to a following syllable by the influence of a suffix ; v.g. *ronóinä* (*vóno* + *inä*), *fukáinä* (*fúka* + *inä*), etc. The monosyllabic roots, and those that have the accent immediately before the dumb syllables, are excepted ; v.g. *lúvinä* (*la*, inserted *v*, and *inä*), *bézinä* (*be*, inserted *z*, and *inä*), *ankafizinä* (what is tasted), from *mankafý* from *fy* (§ 6).

a. In compound words the last word has always the accent ; v.g. *tokorý* (iron trivet), from *tóko* (trivet) and *vy* (iron) ; *salazambý* (gridiron) from *salázanä* (see p. 5, above) and *vy*.

Change of Vowels.

§ 8. The dumb *a* (§ 5) is assimilated to the vowel of the preposition *ny* (of) following ; v.g. *ny ráviny ny házo* (§ 5*d*), instead of *ny rávinä ny*, etc., *sóratry ny ólonä* (writing of men), instead of *sóratrá ny*, etc., *mpamápaký ny ólonä* (ruler of men), instead of *mpamápakä ny*, etc.

§ 9. An *i* is changed into *e* by the influence of a suffix—

1st, Mostly, when the preceding syllable has another vowel than *i* ; v.g. *kekérinä* (*kékitrá* + *inä*, § 10, II.), *olérinä* (*ólitrá*

+ *inā*, § 10, II.), *matēsa* (*maty*, inserted *s* and suffix *a*), *atrehinā* (*átrikā* + *inā*, § 10, I), etc.

2nd. When it occurs in the first syllable of a bisyllabic word terminating with the dumb syllable *trā*; v.g. *rétinā* (*ritrā* + *inā*, § 10, II).

a. Often a final *i* (§ 2) is changed into *a* before an inserted *z* (§ 14), when the suffix *anā* is added; v.g. *salízanā* (*sály* + *anā*), *topázanā* (*tópy* + *anā*), *tambázanā* (*támby* + *anā*), *dimbázanā* (*dimby* + *anā*), *fafázanā* (*fáfy* + *anā*); comp. p. 5, above.

b. The final *i* of bisyllabic words sometimes coalesces with the initial vowel of the suffix *inā*, and receives the accent without becoming long; v.g. *ahína* (*áhy* + *inā*), *irína* (*íry* + *inā*), *tahína* (*táhy* + *inā*). It becomes accented *e* with the initial vowel of the suffix, if the first syllable of the word has no *a* or *i*; v.g. *jéréna* (*jéry*), *teréna* (*téry*), *vonjéna* (*vónjy*), *ekéna* (*éky*), *voléna* (*vóly*), *reséna* (*résy*), etc. In the same way the final *a* of a bisyllabic root coalesces with the suffix *a*; v.g. *mombá* (*mómba* + *a*), *migadrá* (prefix *mi* + *gádra* + *a*).

c. The *a* resembles often the French *e ouvert* in the suffix *anā*, when it is preceded by an accented *i*; v.g. *fchianā* and *famakianā* are sounded nearly as *fchiènā* and *famakiènā*.

d. Before a syllable, which has the accent by the influence of a suffix, an *e* or *o* of the root may be sounded as *ě* (§ 6); v.g. *rěréto* (*rěretrā* + *o*, § 10, II.), *ěróanā* (*óro* + *anā*).

e. In the Provincial dialects the *o* of a last syllable is often changed into *ô* (§ 2) in receiving the accent before the suffix *anā* or *a*; v.g. *fanaôranā* (*fandô* + *anā*), *famorônanā* (*famôronā* + *anā*), *velôma* (*vêlonā* + *a*), etc.

Change of Consonants.

§ 10. The dumb syllables (§ 3) undergo before suffixes the following changes:

I. *Ka* becomes commonly *h*; v.g. *iráhinā* (*irakā* + *inā*), *robáhinā* (*róbakā* + *inā*), etc.

a. Rarely it becomes *t* (*robátinā* = *robáhinā*).

b. When it becomes *f*, the only cause of this must be a former form of the word, such as may be inferred from the corresponding word in a cognate language (see *lelúfinā*, Intr. p. 9).

Another example is *atréfinā*, next to *atréhinā*, what is fronted, or faced, from *átrikā* (Hova: *átrikiā*, § 16) and the suffix *inā*, from which a former form *átrif* (§ 19, *b*)=Javanese *aḍēp*, Batak *ádop*, Malay *hádap*, etc., may be supposed to have existed. In *hirifinā* = *hirihinā* (what is bored), and *hirifanā* = *hirihanā*, from *hirikā* (Hova, *hirikia*, § 16), the similarity of the aspiration with the spirancy of the *f* may be the reason, as the corresponding Malay word is *girik*.

Observation. The final syllable *ip* of the Malay is pronounced *iq*¹ in the Menangkabow; v.g. *kátiq* = *katib* (Arabic خطيب).

II. *Tra* becomes *r*, if the word does not contain in another syllable an *r*, in which case it becomes *t*; v.g. *hoárinā* (*hóatrā*), *zairinā* (*záitrā*), *olérinā* (*ólitrā*), *kekérinā* (*kékitrā*), etc., but *rétina* (§ 9, 2), *sorítanā* (*sóritrā*), *sorátanā* (*sóratrā*), *roritinā* (*róritrā*), *rifátinā* (*rifatrā*), *rombótanā* (*rómbotrā*), etc.

a. Rarely it becomes *f*; v.g. *saófanā* (§ 9, *e*) next to *saóranā* (*sióotrā*). In *sokáfanā* (what is opened), from *sókatrā*, a former *sókaf* may be supposed to have existed from the corresponding Toba *ukkap*, Menangkabow *singkap* (Intr. p. 4, 2). Another example is *tsentséfinā* (what is sucked), from *tséntsitrā* (compare Malay *sásap*, Batak *sósop* or *sēsöp*).

III. *Na* becomes *n*, and where it becomes *m*, a cognate language must be resorted to; so, for instance, *velóma* (§ 9, *e*), from *vélonā*, and suffix *a* is explicable by the Dayak *belom* (to live), and *indráminā* (what is borrowed, from *indranā*), by the Batak *injam*. Another example is *ampinóminā* (what is caused to be drunk) from *mlnonā* (to drink)=Malay *minum*.

a. *Tenóminā* (what is woven, from *ténonā*) and *taóminā* (what is gathered, from *táonā*) do not seem to be explainable by the corresponding words of the cognate languages (Malay *tānun*, Batak *tonun* or *tēnun*; Malay *tahun* year, Dairi harvest time), but remind us of the constant interchanges of *in* and *un* with *im* and *um* as final syllables (§ 19, *b*) in Batak and Menangkabow.² From this is also to be explained *aréminā* (what is rectified), from *árinā*.

¹ By *q* is meant a final *k* swallowed up, being a kind of click.

² See Tobasche Spraakkunst, p. 63 *c*.

§ 11. In compound words the dumb syllables *tra* and *ka* of the first are left out, in the meantime either changing the initial consonant of the second, or requiring an inserted consonant. The change affects *h*, *f*, *v*, and *l*, which become respectively *k*, *p*, *b*, and *d*; *tapakázo* (*tápaka* + *házo*), *misipáry* (*misika* and *fáry*), *mañombobolo* (*mañomboträ* + *volo*), *mitaridákanä* (*mitárikä* + *lákanä*). The inserted consonants required are *d* before *r* and *z*, and *t* before *s*; v.g. *efajáto* (§ 4) (*éfaträ* + *záto*), *manjaidráry* (*manjáüträ* + *ráry*), *manondrotsikina* (*manondroträ* + *sikinä*).

a. If the second word commences with a vowel only the final *a* is left out; v.g. *critrériträ* (*ériträ* repeated), *lavakóronä* (*lávakä* + *oronä*).

b. If a word commencing with *h* and terminating with *trä* or *kä* is repeated the final *a* and initial *h* are left out; v.g. *hovotróvoträ* (*hóvoträ* repeated), *hotikótikä* (*hótikä* repeated), *horakórákä* (*hórákä* repeated).

§ 12. The dumb syllable *na* occasions the same changes (§ 11) in composition,¹ losing however only its vowel, the remaining *n* following the class of the initial consonant (becoming *m* before labials, and *ñ* before gutturals); v.g. *mihinampáry* (*mihinanä* + *fáry*), *manambóla* (*mánanä* + *vóla*), *mañarankélokä* (*mañáranä* + *héloka*), *mañatondúpa* (*mañátonä* + *lapa*), *minondráno* (*mínona* + *ráno*), *manantsáinä* (*mánanä* + *sáinä*), *manakonjávaträ* (*manákonä* + *závaträ*).

a. On the east coast initial *h* in this case is often changed into *tr*; v.g. *olontráfa* = *olonkáfa* (Hova) from *ólonä* and *háfa* (compare *b*).

b. When a word commencing with *h* and terminating with *nä* is repeated, *nh* sometimes becomes *ng* (§ 4 a), and sometimes *tr* (compare *a*); v.g. *hozongózonä* (*hózonä* repeated), *horongóronä* (*hóronä* repeated), *hilontrílonä* (*hílonä* repeated), *helontrélonä* (*hélonä* repeated). This dissimilarity is owing to the final, where it blends with initial *h* into *ng*, being properly a guttural nasal (*ñ*), which requires a consonant of

¹ According to rules, which will be specified below, the pronominal suffixes differ, when taking place after the dumb syllable.

its own class, and where it passes with initial *h* into *ntr*, being a real dental (*n*), which requires in the same way a consonant of its own class. In Toba *nh* changes into double *t*, and *ngh* (*ñh*) into double *k*; v.g. *daláttu* (*dálan* + *hu*), *biákku* (*biang* + *hu*).

§ 13. If the second word commences with *m*, all the dumb syllables are left out; v.g. *olomásina* (*ólónā* + *másinā*), *mamímáso* (*mamitrā* + *máso*), *toramáso* (*tórakā* + *máso*).

Observation.—The *n* being left out here is against the rule (§ 12), but perhaps the natives sound a double *m* instead of *nm*, as in the Toba, where, for instance, *napurámmu* is the pronunciation of *napúran* + *mu*.

Inserted Consonants.

§ 14. Before the suffixes *a* (§ 4) is often inserted after final *o* or *a*, and *s* or *z* after final *e* or *i* (*y*); v.g. *lávínā* (*la* + *inā*), *antsórinā* (*ántso* + *inā*), *nofísinā* (*nófy* + *inā*), *bézínā* (*be* + *inā*), *velézínā* (§ 9, *rély* + *inā*), etc.

a. When one of the syllables of the word commences with a labial (*f*, *p*, or *r*) an *s* or *z* are also inserted after final *o*, to avoid the succession of syllables with similar sounds; v.g. *nojósanā* (*nófo* + *anā*), *torózinā* (*tóvo* + *inā*), *fíralózanā* (from *ralo*, *miválo*).

Observation.—The inserted consonant is sometimes to be explained from the final of the corresponding word in a cognate language (Intr. p. 422, Obs.). Other examples are *ampalésinā* from *ampúly* (a tree, the coriaceous leaves of which are used for smoothing earthenware, compare Malay *ampālas*), *fiázanā* (what is squeezed), from *fía* (Javanese *pērēs*), *híhisanā* (what is scraped) from *híhy* (Malay *kíkis*, § 17, 3), *hehézinā* (what is scratched) from *héhy* (Malay *kakas*), *herézinā* (what is fortified) from *héry* (Malay *kāras*), etc. Sometimes the inserted *z* is a *y* in the corresponding word of a cognate language, as the Malagasy has no consonantal *y* as medial (compare § 1 *a* and Intr. p. 422, below); v.g. *salúzanā* (Intr. p. 423), *tetézanā* (bridge) = *títiyan* (Malay) from *téty* (Malay *titi*, Menangkabow *títih* and *titis*).

§ 15. Between two substantives, of which the second quali-

fies the first, a nasal is inserted, which corresponds in class with the initial consonant, and occasions the above (§ 11) stated changes; v.g. *akondronjáza* (*akóndro* and *záza*), *dintambúrunā* (*dinta* + *vurunā*), *voankéna* (*voa* + *hena*), *voandrami-áry* (*vóa* + *ramiáry*), *trañonkala* (spider's web, *tráño*, house, and *hála*, spider), etc. Sometimes the nasal is not sounded, although the initial has suffered the change; v.g. *ratohará-ñanā* next to *vatoharáñanā* (*vato* + *haráñanā*), *atidóha* (brains), from *áty* (liver, inside), and *lóha* (head). From the materials at my disposal I as yet can give no rules by which to know either when the nasal must be inserted or not, and when it is to be sounded and when not. So, for instance, *oviála* (wild yam), from *óvi* (yam), and *ála* (forest) without an inserted nasal, but *dintanála* (forest leech), from *dinta* (leech) and *ála*, and *ovimbazaha* (European yam, potatoes). Again we find *voatavombazaha* (*voatávo*,¹ pumpkin, *vazáha*, European), notwithstanding *voatavohora* (native or Hova pumpkin), instead of which one would expect *voatavonkóva*.

a. To account for this irregularity I think that some of these compositions (*ovi-ála*) are only made by juxtaposition, and others by means of the preposition *ny* (as in Batak *ní*, of). In the Toba the vowel of *ní* is left out before initial *j* (nearly as *j* in judge), *t*, *d*, *l*, *r*, and *s* (v.g. *oppunjomba* instead of *óppu níjomba*). In the Dairi we have *n* sometimes inserted between the vowels of two words in composition; v.g. *arinónan* (market day) = *ariónan* (Toba *ári*, day, and *ónan*, market, held in the field). As to an initial *h* being changed into *k*, although the nasal is not sounded, as in *vato-karáñanā*, it is just according to the Toba pronunciation (§ 12, *b*). Another example of this peculiar pronunciation we shall find below (pronominal suffixes).

¹ *Távo* is the name (*vóa* meaning fruit). This *távo* (Batak *tíbu*, § 17, 6) is in Malay *lábu* (with the first syllable dropt, the Sanskrit *alábu*). This word is an interesting proof that the Sanskrit words came into Malagasy from the Indian Archipelago. In the Malayan *l* and *n* interchange very often (Tobasche Sprakkunst, p. 64, iv.) so that a former *nábu* is probable. Now the nasals having a verbal sense are often changed into the sharp mute of their class (*littera tenuis*) whenever the word is current as substantive (see Taco Roorda's beoefening van 't Javaansch bekeken, p. 8, annotation), and so we get *tabu* (see Addenda, p. 28).

§ 16. The Hova likes to insert a *y* (written *i*) after the gutturals (*k*, *g*, *nk*, *ng* and *h*), when the preceding syllable has an *i*; v.g. *horídi-kio* (pronounced *horídi-kyo*), what I have to buy, instead of *horídy* + *ko* (pronominal suffix, of me, mine), *láfikia* (pronounce *láfikyá*) = *láfikā* (provincial, Batak *lápik*), *bíngio* (*bíngyo*) = *bíngo* (provincial), *mikiása* (*mikyása*) = *mikása* (provincial, *mí* prefix and *kása*), etc. This is a rule whenever the gutturals have *a*, and almost so if they have an *o*. The inserted *y*, however, is commonly left out in derivatives; v.g. *kihóinā*, from *kihio* (*kího*, elbow, corner).

a. In the provincial dialects a *y* is often inserted before the suffix *enā*, before the suffix *anā*, (see § 9, *b*); v.g. *ronjyéñā* (written *ronjiéñā*). In the same way a *w* is inserted before the suffix *anā*, when the preceding syllable has *o*: v.g. *fombwána* (written *fom boána*) instead of *fombána* (*fomba* + *ana*, see § 9 *b*).

b. The French Jesuits speak of an *i* added before bisyllabic words commencing with *o*, when they are augmented by a suffix, and also of an *o* before monosyllables in the same case; v.g. *ióranā*, instead of *óranā* (from *ora*), *iórinā* instead of *órinā* (from *ótra*, see § 10, II), *ozóinā*¹ instead of *zóinā* from *zo*.

Dialectical Peculiarities.

§ 17. According to the several dialects the following sounds are in some words identical:—

1. *Ti* (Sakalava) = *tsi* (Hova and East coast); v.g. *ráty* = *rátsty* (bad), *fóty* = *fótsy* (white, Malay *pútih*, Nias *fúchì*); compare *tsinjo* (*mí-tsinjo*, to gaze) with Malay *tinjow*, Batak *tindo*, *tsindri* (*roa-tsindri*, pressed) with Malay *tindih*. The Dairi and Malay has often *chi*, where Toba has *ti*²; v.g. *kòchìng* (Malay *kúching*) = *húting* (Toba, see 3), a cat.

2. *Li* (Sakalava and Betsimisáraka) = *dì* (Hova and East coast); v.g. *lìnta* (also Batak, Malay *lìntah*) = *dìnta* (leech),

¹ Johns's Dictionary has *ozoiny* without an accent (see under *manjo* from *zo*). This work has neglected the accent to such an extent that it is sometimes impossible to see the derivation of a word; so for instance, it has *ombe*, whereas the grammar of the French Jesuits has *ombé* (chief, magnate), from which it appears that it is to be derived from *be* (great).

² See Tobasche Spraakkunst, p. 35, D. III.

lily = *dily*, etc. Compare *sódinā* (fife, flute) = *súling* (Malay), *tadiny* (§ 5, *b*, foramen of the ear) = *talínga* (Malay, ear), *hodidinā* = *kuliling* (Malay), *hadi* (*mi-hadi*, to dig) = *hali* (Toba), *káli* (Daíri, and Menangkabow), *gáli* (Malay), etc.

3. *K* = *h*; v.g. *kély* (small) = *hély*, *kúlanā* = *húlanā* (compare Toba *húlang*, Menangkabow *kalang*, etc.) etc. The Daíri has regularly *k* as medial and initial, where Toba has *h*, and even the character representing *h* in Toba is sounded *k* in Daíri.

4. *R* = *l*; v.g. *roso* = *loso* (departed), *láha* (Sakalava) = *ráha*. This change is not frequent in the Batak, and commonly takes place by phonetic attraction, by which an *l* or *r* of a preceding word is mostly changed into *r* or *l*, whenever the following has *r* or *l*; v.g. *marampis bibirna* (thin are his lips), instead of *malampis bibirna*, *silumimpang dalan* (a road branching off finger like, i.e. with many sideways), instead of *sirumimpang dúlan*. As I have not been so happy as to consult many Malagasy works written by natives, I am unable to decide whether this change is to be accounted for in the same way.

5. *P* = *f*; v.g. *fúokā* = *púokā*, *fótraka* = *pótrakā*. The Nias cannot sound *p*, and the Batak not *f*.

6. *B* or *mb* = *r*; v.g. *ambily* (Sakalava) = *aridy* (see 2, Hova and East coast), *ábo* or *ámbo* (Sakalava) = *aro* (Hova and East coast), *ambéla* = *avéla*, *behabéha* = *reharéha*. The Javanese has regularly *w* as Malagasy, where Malay and Batak have *b* (*úwi* = *óvi* = *úbi* Malay and Batak).

7. *J* (§ 4) = *z*; v.g. *jámba* = *zámba*, *jéhy* = *zéhy*. The *z* in Malagasy is often *j* in Malay (*zóro* = *jíru*, corner). In the Bugis *j* often represents *y* of the Malay and *z* of the Malagasy; v.g. *ájú* (tree, wood, instead of *háju*) = *kayu* (Malay and Daíri, etc.), *házo* (Malagasy), *háyu* (Mandailing and Sub-Toba).

8. *S* = *ts*; v.g. *pótsakā* = *pósakā*. The *ch* of Malay and Daíri is pronounced *s* in Toba if not provided with an *i*¹ (*bácha*, Sanskrit *wāchā*, = *bása*).

9. The Hova has often *ai* or *ei* (§ 3) where the provincial dialects have *e*.

¹ See 1.

10. Instead of the dumb syllable *tră* of the Hova, the Western dialects have regularly *tsă*, and the Eastern and Southern *chă* (*ch* nearly as in English *child*); v.g. *ěfatsă* = *ěfatră* (four, Batak *ópat* or *ěmpat*). Flacourt¹ has *túmits* = *tómotră*² (heel, Malay *túmit*).

11. Several words have indifferently either of the dumb syllables. The dumb syllable *tră*, when the preceding syllable has an *i*, is often *kă* (*kia*, § 16); v.g. *ma-făitră* (bitter) = *ma-făikă*, *pótsitră* = *pótsikă* (*pótsikia* in Hova, § 16), smashed. The Menangkabow pronounces the final syllable *it* of the Malay as *iq*; v.g. *paig* (bitter) = *páit* (ناحيت). Strange is it, that some words have a final *nă* = *kă*; v.g. *fásină* (sand) = *fásikă* (or *fásikia*), *maina* = *maika* (dried out). In Malagasy a final *nă* represents sometimes an *r* of the Malay; v.g. *fásină* = *pásir*, *lamósină* (back) = *lamúsir* (the flesh of an animal's back which extends along each side of the spinal bone); *kámbana* (twins) = *kámbar* (Malay).

a. Sometimes this change of *nă* and *kă* is only explicable by supposing *nă* to be properly *nă* (§ 4 a); so, for instance, we have *óronă* (nose), Javanese *irung*, Dayak *urong*, Hova *óronă*, and *órokă* (*mañorokă*), to smell, to kiss in the native way by smelling or touching noses; compare the two significations of the Malay *chtyum*,³ etc. Both words are originally the same, as is proved by the rule of Batak, where the Daíri dialect has as final *n* when the Toba has *k*; v.g. *kóning* (the curcuma root conspicuous for its yellowness) = *húnik*⁴ (Toba), *kúning* (Malay, yellow).

12. In the Hova and in the South-east coast the *s* is nearly palatal, and sounded as *ch* in French (or *sh* in English) principally by the influence of a preceding or following *i* (*misy* is nearly *mishi*).

13. In the North an *i* is sounded as *e* when the preceding accented syllable has *a*, and sometimes also when it has an *e* or *o*; v.g. *fáte* = *fáty* (corpse), *fére* = *féry* (wound), *táne* =

¹ Flacourt's vocabulary I have not been able to consult, the alleged word having been taken from Von Humboldt's great work on the Kawi.

² The Dictionnaire Français-Malgache (Ile Bourbon, 1855) has *tómitră* as the provincial word (see under *talon*).

³ See Opmerkingen naar aanleiding van een taalkundige verhandeling van den Hoogleraar Roorda, p. 48.

⁴ See Batak Dictionary and Tobasche Spraakkunst, p. 65, vi.

tány (earth), *áheträ* = *áhitra* (grass). The Batak has very often *e* in the last syllable where a cognate language has *i*, when one of the preceding syllables has *a*; v.g. *páte* = *páti* (Javanese), *baúme* (earth) = *búmi* (Malay, Sanskrit *bhūmi*). As *e* and *o* as finals are often interchanged in Batak (*págo* = *páge*, rice in the husk), so we see the Batak *táno* to be = the Malagasy *tany*.

14. Some words commence either with a vowel or an *h*; v.g. *ózaträ* = *hozaträ* (muscle).

a. The French Jesuits mention as faulty the pronunciation of *ándra* instead of *ándro* (day), *imba* instead of *imbo*, *éna* instead of *éno*. The word *ándra*, however, is explicable from § 5 *b*, whereas the others may be accounted for if we consider that an accented syllable easily obscures the vowel of a following or preceding syllable (§ 9 *d*) to such an extent that it becomes colourless, and thus interchangeable with any other vowel. In the same way we have to explain *fóntra* instead of *fóniträ*, *fanentra* instead of *fanéniträ* (wasp, compare Menangkabow *pañāngit*, Batak *piyóngot*). The expression *vidi-kio* (or *vidi-ko*) is sometimes sounded *vidi-ky*. A current abbreviation is *háy-ky* instead of *háy-ko izy* (I know it). Use has consecrated also the abbreviation of *ataóvo* (*atáo* + *o*, § 14) into *atávo*, of *ataóvy* (*atáo* + *y*) into *atávy*, and of *anaóvanü* into *anávanü*.

Transposition of Sounds.

§ 18. Transposition of sounds often takes place in words containing either hissing (*z*, *j*, *s*, *ts*) or vibrating sounds (*l* or *r*); v.g. *makály* = *malúky* (quick), *azahóanä* = *ahazóanä* (*ázo*), *andrahóanä* = *ahandróanä* (*hándro*), *sakarivo* = *sakarivo* (ginger), *zoárinä* = *ozárinä* (*ózaträ* + *inä*), *akitsa* = *atsika* (*atsikia*, Hova).

a. In this way *rézaträ* (belching) is evidently the Batak *térap* (see p. 443).

b. The language of the woods (*volan'tañála*) makes a rule of it, according to the French Jesuits.

Form of Primitive Words.

§ 19. Primitive words are mostly bisyllabic (or trisyllabic with

a dumb syllable, see below, *b*). They are seldom monosyllabic (*be*, *lo*), and when they have more than three syllables they are either foreign words, or have the appearance of being derived either by repetition or composition. Even these words are often found to have lost one of the first syllables; v.g. *valávo* (provincial, see Introd. I.) = *voalávo* (having the appearance of being a composition of *vóa* and *lávo*) a rat, *batéra* (tobacco box) = *tabatéra* (French *tabatière*), *laláo* = *laoláo*, *kaitso* = *kamaitso*, *lamósina* = *lakamósina*.

a. The vowel of one of the first syllables of polysyllabic words is often uncertain (§ 17, 14 *a*) even in derived words when the accent is on a following syllable; v.g. *tetézaná* = *tatézaná* (bridge consisting of a narrow board, from *téty*), *laféraná* = *leféraná* (the hock, from *léfitrá*, accordingly what is folded, where a fold is), *kobóbo* = *kibóbo*, *kofáfa* = *kifáfa* (broom, from *fafa*, *mamáfa*, to sweep, etc.), *fanyozóro* next to *fonjózoro* (pith of bulrushes, from *fo*, pith and *zózoro*). Hence perhaps also *angádi* = *fangádi* (from *hadi*).

b. Trisyllabic words terminating with a dumb syllable must be considered bisyllabic, as is evident from the form they take before suffixes (*olériná*, worm-eaten, for instance is at first sight *óler* + *iná*, although derived from *ólitrá*, worm, and *iná*).

NOTE ON THE RELATION OF THE KAWI TO THE JAVANESE.

The relation of the Kawi to the Javanese, as of a mother to her daughter, has been contested of late by Professor Taco Roorda, who is of opinion that the Kawi is not the ancient Javanese, but on the contrary a different, although cognate, language, which existed formerly somewhere in Java as an independent language, in the same way as does now the Sunda.¹ I beg leave to call the reader's attention to the great improbability of this opinion, since eminent men, as Sir Stamford Raffles, although not having at their command the materials which have now-a-days become accessible to the Dutch, have long ago asserted the contrary. I repeat here, with a few additions, what I have elsewhere² said, to combat Roorda's opinion. It was Sir Stamford Raffles who, the first of all, took an interest in

¹ Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië (nieuwe volgrees, vol. viii.) p. 88.

² Taco Roorda's Beoefening van 't Javaansch bekenen, and Opmerkingen naar aanleiding van eene taalkundige bijdrage van den Hoogleraar T. Roorda.

the language and literature of Java, and gave in his celebrated work specimens of the Kawi text of the *Bratayūda* (*Bhāratayuddha*), which, considering the time of its publication, when Javanese was not yet studied, may claim our admiration.

As the grammar of the Kawi, and a great many words in the Kawi poems, are not yet sufficiently known, I am compelled to confine myself to its phonetic system in order to show its relation to the Javanese as to its degenerated offspring. The Kawi resembles in this respect the Javanese to such an extent that a great many Kawi words may be identified with Javanese only by resorting to a few phonetic laws, whereas some have only undergone a small alteration.

I. When the Malay and Batak equivalent word has *r*, and the Tagal or Bisaya has *g* (hard as in *give*), both the Kawi and Javanese have no consonant. Examples:—

1. To sleep,¹ is in Javanese *thuru*, in Kawi *turū*, in Malay *tidur*, in Bisaya *tulug* (see II).

2. The Javanese *dus* (root of *ādus*, to bathe, as intransitive, and *ngēdus*, to bathe, as transitive) is in Kawi *dyus* (*madyus* = *adus*, *mangdyus* = *ngēdus*), in Malay and Batak *dirus* (*mandirus*, to sprinkle), in Bisaya *digus* (bañar a otro).

3. *Rènur* (Batak), *lindug* (Bisaya), earthquake, is, both in Javanese and Kawi, *liṇḍu*.

4. *Orang* (Malay), *urang* (Menangkabow), is *wang* in Kawi, and *wong*² in Javanese.

5. *Urat* (Malay), root, is in Bisaya *ugat*, whereas Javanese has *wod* and Kawi *wwad*.

6. *Pārah* (Malay, root of *māmārah*, to squeeze) is *pōro* or *pēroh* in Batak, *piḡá* in Tagal, *pogá* in Bisaya, whereas Javanese has *poh*, and Kawi *pwah*.

7. *Terap* or *torap* (root of *terapēn* or *torápan*, to suffer from belching or eructation) in Batak is *tigáb* in Tagal,³ *togdb* in Bisaya, whereas Javanese has *tob* (*atob*, *a* is a prefix), and Kawi *twab* (*matwab*, to belch; *ma* is a prefix).

8. *Dāngar* (Malay to hear, *mandāngar*) is in Bisaya *dungug*, in Javanese *rungu*, and in Kawi *rēngē* (see II).

II. When the Malay and Balinese *d* of equivalent words is repre-

¹ Of course all the languages have not an equivalent in sound; so for instance, the Batak word for "to sleep" is *mōdom* or *mōdēm* (compare Kawi *mērrēm*).

² The *o* in the Javanese in these cases may be explained by the broad pronunciation in English of *water*, whereas in the Scotch and Dutch word the clear French *a* is heard.

³ In the Batak Dictionary, under *torap*, these words are, by mistake, wrongly spelt.

sented by *l* in Bisaya or Tagal,¹ both the Javanese and Kawi have *r*. Examples:

1. *Hidung* (Malay) nose, is in Tagal *ilong*, whereas Javanese has *irung*, and Kawi *hirung*.

2. *Tidur* (Malay) = *turū* (Kawi, see I. 1).

3. *Dāngar* (Malay) = *rēngē* (Kawi, see I. 8).

4. *Dāun* (Malay) leaf, is in Balinese *don*, in Javanese and Kawi *ron* (in Malagasy *rārind*).²

III. When a *j* of Balinese and Malay is *d* in Batak, the Javanese and Kawi both have also *d*. Examples:

1. *Jālan* (Malay and Balinese) road, way = *dālan* (Kawi, Javanese, and Batak).

2. *Jauh* (Malay) far, is in Balinese *joh*, in Kawi and Javanese *doh* (*madoh* and *adoh*), and in Batak *daḥ* or *ndaḥ*.

3. *Hujan* (Malay and Bali) rain, is in Javanese and Batak *udan*, in Kawi *hudan*.

4. *Dilat* (root of Kawi and Batak *mandilat*, to lick, to lap, Javanese *andilat*) is in Malay *jilat* (*manjilat*), *djelap* (Dayak, see Introduction, VI. 4, Observation).

A. Besides, a great many Javanese words are only to be explained by means of their form in Kawi. Examples:

1. Elder brother, is in Kawi and Dafri *kāka*, but in Javanese *kākang*. The final *ng* is only to be explained from a rule in Kawi, as still now in Batak (partly also in Mangkasar and Javanese),³ that words terminating with a vowel, when followed by a pronominal suffix, require a corresponding nasal; v.g. *wēkangku* (my son) from *wēka* (son), and *ku* (pronominal suffix), my. Of this rule, which has become almost obliterated in modern Javanese, the *ng* is a remnant, being mistaken for the final of the word.

2. The prefix *ma* (forming the active of verbs) in Kawi, Batak, and other cognate languages, has almost become disused in Javanese, where it has dwindled down into *a*,⁴ and is often left out when the word has, or increases to, more than two syllables; v.g. *madyus* = *adus* (see I. 2), and *mangdyus* = *ngēdus* (instead of *angdus*, the *ē* being necessary, as the final nasal does not correspond with the class of the initial of the root). Hence foreign words commencing with an *m*, and being no verbs, have often either lost the prefix, or have changed the *m* into *p*; v.g. *nāstāpa*,⁵ is the Kawi and Sanskrit

¹ Save when initial (see *dungug*, I. 8).

² See Tobasche *Spraukkunst*, § 17, IV. a.

³ In this language the pronominal suffix *ta* used in poetry requires after vowels. a corresponding nasal.

⁴ The prefix *mag* of the Tagal and Bisaya has dwindled down into *ag* in Iloco.

⁵ Also Malay.

manastāpa, *suwur* from the Arabic *مَشُور*, *prakāṭa* from the Sanskrit and Kawi *markaṭa*, *pēsigit* is in use next to *mēsigit* (Arabic *مَسْجِد*), *prēdangga* next to *mṛēdangga* (as in Kawi from the Sanskrit), *pan-dāpa* next to *maṇḍapa* (Sanskrit and Kawi). In the passive the verb may also take the form of a substantive, by leaving out the initial nasal, and hence we find in the passive *imbar* (active *ngimbar*, to make somebody swear by the pulpit) from the Arabic *mimbar* (مِنْبَر) pulpit. The same is the case with *angsa* (in the passive of *ngāngsa*, to devour) from *māngsa*¹ (Sanskrit, flesh, meat), next to which we find *māngsa* as verb (to devour, said of monsters and animals of prey). In the Batak, the Sanskrit *māsa* (month, season) is used as verb,² meaning to be current, as a word or an expression (properly to take place in the time), and is used next to *músin* or *músim* (with the same verbal signification) although this word is a substantive, taken from the Malay (being the Arabic مَوْسِم).

3. *Srēngēnge* (the sun), also *sērngenge*,³ and in the east of the island, as also in Bali, *sēngēnge*) is contracted from the Kawi *Sang Hyang Ngwe* (the God day), *sang*, prefix, *hyang*, Deity, and *ngwe*, day; *tēngānge* (the time about noon), from the Kawi *tēngah ngwe* (half-day), i.e. *tēngah* (half) and *ngwe*.

B. The Javanese being fond of dissyllabic words has abbreviated a great many words, and even compounds, by leaving out either a syllable or one of its component parts. To trace them back to their original form we must often resort to the Kawi, as the greatest sagacity is sometimes unavailing, and very often apt to lead us astray. Examples:

1. *Jāmāni* (hell) from *jamaniloka* (Kawi, the residence of *Yama*).

2. *Bēsmi* (to burn, to be reduced to ashes), from *bhasmībhūta* or *bhasmīkrēta* (both words occur as often in Kawi as in Sanskrit).

3. *Dite* (the first day of the ancient Javanese week, and still used in astrological tables), is the Kawi and Sanskrit *āditya* (sun, *dies solis*; in Batak *adittiya* or *adintiya*).

4. *Pāris* (a shield), in the dialect of Bantam⁴ still *parīse*, from the Malay *parisey* (from the Tamil; in Batak *paritse* or *parinche*).

5. *Angkus* (the hook to drive an elephant), from the Kawi and Sanskrit *angkuṣa*.

6. *Sindur* (stark red, very red) from the Sanskrit *sindura* (red lead, as in Batak still, where it signifies vermilion).

¹ In Malay still a substantive (food of animals of prey).

² In Javanese it is *mangsa*, and is still a substantive (season).

³ The *r* is often put as a final of the first syllable of words of more than two syllables; v.g. *marmāta* = Sanskrit *manmatha*, *dirgantara* = *digantara*, etc.;

⁴ With the natives Bantēn.

This, I think, will suffice to prove that Roorda's opinion is groundless, and that his neglecting the Kawi has made him overlook many words in Javanese which are either corrupted Sanskrit or identical with the corresponding Malay, although seemingly different in sound.¹

ADDENDA.

The Dayak *tánguy* (p. 8, 3) received its *t* from a former *nánguy*, as *n* and *l* are very often interchanged under the influence of another nasal in the same word. In the same way we find in Javanese *liṇḍih* next to *tiṇḍih*, which may lead us to the verbal form of this word (*niṇḍih*) being the cause of the collateral form *liṇḍih* (compare p. 19, in the note). By the influence of some passive form, which, according to the genius of these languages, does not differ from that of a substantive, *tónguy* must have become = *lánguy* (Kawi) through *nánguy*, as *t* and *l* are but very rarely interchanged. The identity of Batak *tonggi* or *těnggi* (sweet) with the Javanese *lěgi* is to me yet a puzzle. Roorda gets rid of the difficulty by supposing the last syllable to be the root, and then by declaring the initial to be a formative consonant, although *l* is not known to have this power.

¹ Hence in his edition of Gericke's Javanese Dictionary and the Supplement, which he edited with Meiusma, we find a great many mistakes uncorrected, whilst a great many Malay words have not been compared at the proper places.
